THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER.

HIS

OPINION

OF

I. The Laws and Government.
II. Protestant Religion.
III. The Papists.
IV. Foreign Affairs.

By the Honourable, Sir *W. Coventry.*

The Second Edition, carefully Corrected, and cleared from the Errors of the first Impression.

Licensed December 27. 1688.

LONDON,
Printed for Richard Baldwin, next the *Black Bull* in the *Old-Bailey*, MDCLXXXIX.

THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER HIS OPINION

OF

I. The Laws and Government.
II. Protestant Religion.
III. The Parties.
IV. Foreign Affairs.

By the Honourable, Sir W. Coventry.

The Second Edition, carefully Corrected, and cleared from the Errors of the first Impression.

Lincoln, December 27, 1688.

LONDON.
Printed for Ralph Bonwicke, next the West Mill, in the Old-Bailey, MDCLXXXIX.

The PREFACE

IT must be more than an ordinary provocation that can tempt a Man to Write in an Age over-run with Scriblers, as Egypt was with Flyes and Locusts: That worst Vermin of small Authours hath given the World such a Surfeit, that instead of desiring to Write, a Man would be more inclin'd to wish, for his own ease, that he could not Read; but there are some things which do so raise our Passions, that our Reason can make no Resistance; and when Madmen, in the two Extreams, shall agree to make common Sense Treason, and joyn to fix an ill Character upon the only Men in the Nation who deserve a good one; I am no longer Master of my better Resolution to let the World alone, and must break loose from my more reasonable Thoughts, to expose these false Coyners, who would make their Copper Wares pass upon us for good Payment.

Amongst all the Engines of Dissention, there hath been none more powerful in all Times, than the fixing Names upon one another of Contumely and Reproach, and the reason is plain, in respect of the People, who are generally unapable of making a Syllogism or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a Word; and that serves their turn to throw it with their due malice at the Head of those they do not like; such things ever begin in Jest, and end in Blood, and the same word that maketh the Company merry, grows in time to a Military Signal to cut one anothers Throats.

These Mistakes are to be lamented, tho' not easily cured, being suitable enough to the corrupted Nature of Mankind; but 'tis hard that Men will not only invent ill Names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good ones, so afraid some are even of a reconciling sound, that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up and encourage a dangerous sort of Men, who prefer Peace and agreement, before Violence and Confusion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have play'd the Fool with throwing Whig *and* Tory *at one another, as Boys do Snow-Balls, do we grow angry at a new Name, which by its true signification might do as much to put us into our Wits, as the other hath done to put us out of them?*

This innocent word Trimmer *signifies no more than this, That if Men are together in a Boat, and one part of the Company would weigh it down on one side, another would make it lean as much to the contrary, it happens there is a third Opinion of those who conceive it would do as well, if the Boat went even, without endangering the Passengers; now 'tis hard to imagine by what Figure in Language, or by what Rule in Sense this cometh to be a fault, and it is much more a wonder it should become a Heresie.*

But so it happens, that the poor Trimmer *hath all the Powder spent upon him alone, while the* Whig *is forgotten, or at least a neglected Enemy; there is no danger now to the State (if some Men be believ'd) but from the Beast called a* Trimmer: *Take heed of him, he is the Instrument that must destroy Church and State; a strange kind of Monster, whose deformity is so expos'd, that, were it a true Picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright Children, and make Women miscarry at the sight of it.*

But it may be worth the examining, whether he is such a Beast as he is Painted. I am not of that Opinion, and am so far from thinking him an Infidel either in Church or State, that I am neither afraid to expose the Articles of his Faith, in Relation to Government, nor to say I prefer them before any other Political Creed, that either our angry Dons, or our refined States-men would impose upon us.

I have therefore in the following Discourse endeavour'd to explain the Trimmer's *Principles and Opinions, and then leave it to all Discerning and Impartial Judges, whether he can with Justice be so Arraign'd, and whether those who deliberately pervert a good Name, do not very justly deserve the worst that can be put upon themselves.*

THE

THE Trimmer's Opinion OF THE LAWS and GOVERNMENT.

OUR Trimmer hath a great Veneration for Laws in general, as he hath more particularly for his own, he looketh upon them as the Chains that tye up our unruly Paſſions, which elſe, like Wild Beaſts let looſe, would reduce the World into its firſt State of Barbariſm and Hoſtility; all the good things we enjoy, we owe to them; and all the ill things we are freed from by their Protection.

God himſelf thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being a Law-giver, and his goodneſs had been defective towards Mankind in making them, if he had not preſcrib'd Rules to make them happy.

All Laws flow from that of Nature, and where that is not the Foundation, they may be legally impos'd, but they will be lamely obey'd: By this Nature is not meant that which Fools and Madmen would miſinterpret to juſtifie their Exceſſes; it is innocent and uncorrupted Nature, that which diſpoſeth Men to chuſe Virtue, without its being preſcrib'd, and which is ſo far from inſpiring ill thoughts into us, that we take pains to ſuppreſs the good ones it infuſeth.

The Civil World has ever paid a willing ſubjection to Laws: even Conquerours have done homage to them; as the *Romans* who took Patterns of good Laws, even from thoſe they had ſubdued; and at the ſame time they Triumph'd over an enſlav'd People, the ſame Laws of that Place did not only remain ſafe, but became Victorious; their new Maſters, inſtead of ſuppreſſing them, paid them more reſpect than they had from thoſe who firſt made them: And by this wiſe method they arriv'd to

ſuch

such an admirable Constitution of Laws, that to this day they Reign by them; the Excellency of them Triumpheth still, and the World payeth now an acknowledgment of their Obedience to that Mighty Empire, tho' so many Ages after it is dissolved; and by a better instance, the Kings of *France*, who, in practice use their Laws pretty familiarly, yet think their Picture is drawn with most advantage upon their Seals, when they are plac'd upon the Seat of Justice; and tho' the Hieroglyphick is not there of so much use to the People as they would wish, yet it shews that no Prince is so Great, as to think it, for his own Credit at least, to give an outward, when he refuseth a real Worship to the Laws.

They are to Man and mind that which the Sun is to the Plants, while it cherisheth and preserveth them. So where they have their force, and are not clouded, every thing smileth and flourisheth; but where they are darkned, and are not suffered to shine out, it maketh every thing to wither and decay.

They serve Men not only against one another, but against themselves too; they are a Sanctuary to which the Crown hath occasion to resort as often as the People; so that it hath an Interest as well as a Duty to preserve them.

There would be no end of making a Panegyrick of Laws; let it be enough to add, that without Laws the World would become a Wilderness, and Men little less than Beasts; but with all this, the best things may come to be the worst, if they are not in good hands; and if it be true, that the wisest Men generally make the Laws, it is true, that the strongest do often misinterpret them: And as Rivers belong as much to the Channel where they run, as to the Spring from whence they first rise; so the Laws depend as much upon the Pipes, thro' which they are to pass, as upon the Fountain from whence they flow.

The Authority of a King who is Head of the Law, as well as the Dignity of Publick Justice, is debased, when the clear stream of the Law is puddled and disturb'd by Bunglers, or convey'd by unclean Instruments to the People.

Our *Trimmer* would have them appear in their full Lustre, and would be grieved to see the day, when, instead of speaking with Authority from the Seats of Justice, they should speak out of a Grate, with a lamenting voice, like Prisoners that desire to be resca'd.

He wisheth that the Bench may have a Natural as well as a Legal Superiority to the Bar. He thinketh Mens abilities much misplac'd, when the Reasons of those that Plead is visibly too strong for those who Judge and give Sentence.

When those from the Bar seem to dictate to their Superiors upon the

the Bench, their Furs will look sturrily about them, and the respect of the World will leave the bare Character of a Judge, to follow the Essential Knowledge of a Lawyer, who may be greater in himself, than others can be with all their Trappings.

An uncontested Superiority in any Calling, will have the better of any distinct Name that Authority can put upon it. And therefore if ever such an unnatural Method should be produc'd, it is then that *Westminster-Hall* might be said to stand upon his Head; and though Justice it self can never be so, yet the Administration of it would be rendred Ridiculous.

A Judge hath such a Power lodg'd in him, that the King will never be thought to have chosen well, where the Voice of Mankind hath not beforehand recommended the Man to his Election. When Men are made Judges of what they do not understand, the World censures such a Choice, not out of ill-will to the Men, but fear to themselves.

If the King had sole Power of chusing Physicians, Men would tremble to see Bunglers preferred; yet the necessity of taking Physick from a Doctor, is generally not so great as that of receiving Justice from a Judge. The Inferences will be very severe in such cases, for either it will be thought that such Men bought what they were not able to deserve, or which is as bad, that Obedience shall be look'd upon as a better Qualification in a Judge, than Skill or Integrity, when such sacred things as the Laws are not only touch'd, but guided by prophane hands. Men will fear that out of the Tree of the Law, from whence we expect Shade and Shelter, such Workmen will make us Cudgels to beat us with, or rather that they will turn the Cannon upon our Properties, that were intrusted with them for their Defence.

To see the Laws Mangled, Disguised, speak quite another Language than their own, to see them thrown from the Dignity of protecting Mankind, to the disgraceful Office of destroying them; and, notwithstanding their Innocence in themselves, to be made the worst Instruments that the most refined Villany can make use of, will raise Mens Anger above the power of laying it down again, and tempt them to follow the evil Examples given them of Judging without Hearing, when so provoked by their desire of Revenge. Our *Trimmer* therefore as he thinketh the Laws are Jewels, so he believeth they are no where better set, than in the Constitution of our *English* Government, if rightly understood, and carefully preserved.

It would be too great Partiality to say, They are perfect, or liable to no Objection. Such things are not of this World, but they have more Excellencies and fewer Faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend them to our Esteem.

The

The Diſpute, which is a greater Beauty, a Monarchy or a Commonwealth, hath laſted long between their contending Lovers, and they have behav'd themſelves ſo alike in good Manners out of their Wits, who uſed ſuch Figures to exalt their own Idols on either ſide, and ſuch angry Aggravations to reproach one another in the Conteſt, that moderate Men have at all times ſmil'd upon this eagerneſs, and thought it differ'd very little from a downright Frenzy. We in *England*, by a happy uſe of the Controverſie, conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our Pattern, taking the words in the utmoſt extent, which is, that Monarchy leaveth them no Liberty, and a Commonwealth ſuch a one, as allows them no Quiet.

We think that a wiſe Mean, between theſe two barbarous Extreams, is that which Self-preſervation ought to dictate to our Wiſhes; and we may ſay we have attained this Mean in a greater meaſure than any Nation now in being, or perhaps any we have read of, though never ſo much Celebrated for the Wiſdom or Plenty of their Conſtitutions. We take from one the too great Power of doing hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other, the Confuſion, the Parity, the Animoſities, and the Licenſe, and yet reſerve a due care of ſuch Liberty, as may conſiſt with Mens Allegiance. But it being hard, if not impoſſible, to be exactly even, our Government has much the ſtronger Bias towards Monarchy, which by the more general Conſent and Practice of Mankind, ſeemeth to have the advantage in diſpute againſt a Commonwealth. The Rules of a Commonwealth are too hard for the Bulk of Mankind to come up to. That Form of Government requireth ſuch a Spirit to carry it on, as doth not dwell in great Numbers, but is reſtrain'd to ſo very few, eſpecially in this Age, that let the Methods appear never ſo much reaſonable in Paper, they muſt fail in Practice, which will ever be ſuited more to Mens Nature, as it is, than as it ſhould be.

Monarchy is lik'd by the People, for the Bells and the Tinſel, the outward Pomp and the Gelding, and there muſt be Milk for Babes, ſince the greateſt part of Mankind are, and ever will be included in that Liſt. And it is approv'd by wiſe and thinking Men (Circumſtances and Objections impartially conſider'd) that it hath ſo great an advantage above all other Forms, when the Adminiſtration of that Power falleth into good hands, that all other Governments look out of Countenance, when they are ſet in Competition with it. *Lycurgus* might have ſav'd himſelf the trouble of making Laws, if either he had been Immortal, or that he could have ſecur'd to Poſterity, a ſucceeding Care of Princes like himſelf; his own Example was a better Law, than he could with

all

all his skill tell how to make. Such a Prince is a Living Law, that dictates to his Subjects, whose thoughts in that case never rise above their Obedience, the Confidence they have in the Vertue and Knowledge of the Master, preventing the Scruples and Apprehensions to which Men are naturally inclin'd, in relation to those that govern them. Such a Magistrate is the Life and Soul of Justice, whereas the Law is but a Body, and a dead one too, without his influence to give it warmth and vigour, and by the irresistible Power of his Vertue, he doth so reconcile Dominion and Allegiance, that all Disputes between them are silenced and subdued. And indeed no Monarchy can be Perfect and Absolute without exception, but when the Prince is Superiour by his Vertue, as well as by his Character and his Power; so that to serve out Presidents of unlimited Power, is a plain diminution to a Prince that Nature hath made Great, and who had better make himself a glorious Example to Posterity, than borrow an Authority from Dark Records, raised out of the Grave, which besides their Non-usage have always in them matter of Controversie and Debate. And it may be affirm'd, that the Instances are very rare of Princes having the worst in dispute with their People; if they were eminent for Justice in time of Peace, and Conduct in time of War; such advantage the Crown giveth to those who adorn and confirm it by their own Personal Vertues.

But since for the greater Honour of Good and Wise Princes, and the better to set off their Character by the Comparison, Heaven hath decreed there must be a mixture, and that such as are perverse and insufficient, or both, are perhaps to have their equal turns in the Government of the World; and besides that the Will of Man is so various, and so unbounded a thing, and so fatal too when joyned with power unrestrained, it is no wonder if those who are to be govern'd, are unwilling to have so dangerous as well as so uncertain a Standard of their Obedience.

There must be therefore Rules and Laws, for want of which, or at least the Observation of them, it was as Capital for a Man to say that *Nero* did not play well upon the Lute, as to commit Treason, or Blaspheme the Gods. And even *Vespasian* himself had like to have lost himself, for sleeping whilst he should have attended and admired that Emperours Impertinence upon the Stage. There is a wantonness in the too great Power that Men are generally too apt to be corrupted with, and for that Reason, a wise Prince, to prevent the Temptation arising from common frailty, would choose to govern by Rules for his own Sake, as well as for the Peoples, since it only secureth him from Errors, and doth not lessen the real Authority that a good Magistrate would come to be possess'd of. For if the Will of a Prince is contrary either to Reason it

ſelf, or to the univerſal Opinion of his Subjects, the Law by a kind reſtraint reſcues him from a Diſeaſe that would undo him; if his will on the other ſide is reaſonable and well directed, that Will immediately becomes a Law, and he is arbitrary by an eaſie and natural Conſequence, without taking Pains, or overturning the World for it.

If Princes conſider Laws as things impos'd on them, they have the appearance of Fetters of Iron, but to ſuch as would make them their choice as well as their practice, they are Chains of Gold; and in that reſpect are Ornaments, as in other reſpects a defence to them, and by a Compariſon, not improper for God's Vicegerents upon Earth. For as our Maker never commandeth our obedience to any thing, that as reaſonable Creatures we ought not to make our own Election; ſo a good and wiſe Governour, tho' all Laws were aboliſhed, would by the voluntary direction of his own Reaſon, do without reſtraint the very ſame things that they would have enjoyned.

Our *Trimmer* thinketh that the King and Kingdom ought to be one Creature, not to be ſeparated in their Political Capacity; and when any of them undertake to act a-part, it is like the crawling of Worms after they are cut in pieces, which cannot be a laſting Nation, the whole Creature not ſtirring at a time; if the Body have a dead Palſie, the Head cannot make it move; and God hath not yet delegated ſuch a healing Power to Princes, as that they can in a moment ſay to a Languiſhing People oppreſſed in deſpair, take up your Beds and walk.

The Figure of a King, is ſo comprehenſive and exalted a thing, that it is a kind of degrading of him, to lodge that Power ſeparately in his own Natural Perſon, which can never be truly or naturally great, but where the People are ſo united to him as to be Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone; for when he is reduc'd to the ſingle definition of a man, he ſinketh into ſo low a Character, that he is a Temptation to Men's Allegiance, and an impairing that veneration which is neceſſary to preſerve their duty to him; whereas a Prince that is ſo joyned to his People that they ſeem to be his Limbs, rather than his Subjects, Cloathed with Mercy and Juſtice rightly apply'd in their ſeveral places, his Throne ſupported by Love, as well as by Power, and the warm wiſhes of his devoted Subjects, like never-failing Incenſe ſtill aſcending towards him, looks ſo like the beſt Image we can frame to our ſelves of God Almighty, that Men would have much ado not to fall down and worſhip him, and would be much more tempted to the Sin of Idolatry, than that of Diſobedience.

Our *Trimmer* is of Opinion, that there muſt be ſo much Dignity inſeparably annex'd to the Royal Function, as may be ſufficient to ſecure it from violence and contempt; and there muſt be Condeſcenſions from the Throne,

Throne, like kind showers from Heaven, that the Prince may look so much the more like God Almighty's Deputy upon Earth; for Power without Love hath a terrifying Aspect, and the Worship which is paid to it is like that which the *Indians* give out of fear to Wild-Beasts and Devils: He that feareth God only because there is an Hell, must wish there were no God; and he who feareth the King, only because he can punish, must wish there were no King. So that without a Principle of Love, there can be no true Allegiance, and there must remain perpetual Seeds of Resistance against a Power that is built upon such an unnatural Foundation, as that of Fear and Terror. All Force is a kind of foul play, and whosoever aimeth at it himself, doth by implication allow it to those he plays with; so that there will be ever Matter prepared in the minds of People when they are provok'd, and the Prince, to secure himself, must live in the midst of his own Subjects, as if he were in a Conquer'd Country, raise Arms as if he were immediately to meet or resist an Invasion, and all this while sleep as unquietly from the fear of Remedies, as he did before from that of the Disease; it being hard for him to forget, that more Princes have been destroy'd by their Guards, than by their People; and that even at the time when the Rule was, *Quod Principi placuit Legis esto.* The Armies and Prætorian Bands which were the Instruments of that unruly Power, were frequently the means made use of to destroy them who had it. There will ever be this difference between God and his Vicegerents, that God is still above the Instruments he useth, and out of the danger of receiving hurt from them; but Princes can never lodge Power in any hands, which may not at some time turn it back upon them; for tho' it is possible enough for a King to have Power enough to satisfie his Ambition; yet no Kingdom hath Money enough to satisfie the avarice of under-Workmen, who learn from that Prince who will exact more than belongeth to him, to expect from him much more than they deserve; and growing angry upon the first disappointment, they are the Devils which grow terrible to the Conjurers themselves who brought them up, and can't send them down again. And besides that, there can be no lasting Radical Security, but where the Governed are satisfied with the Governors; it must be a Dominion very unpleasant to a Prince of an elevated Mind, to impose an abject and sordid Servility, instead of receiving the willing Sacrifice of Duty and Obedience. The bravest Princes in all times, who were uncapable of any other kind of fear, have fear'd to grieve their own People; such a fear is a glory, and in this sense 'tis an infamy not to be a Coward: So that the mistaken Heroes who are void of this generous kind of fear, need no other aggravation to complete their ill Characters.

When a Despotick Prince hath bruised all his Subjects with a slavish

Obedience, all the force he can use cannot subdue his own fears, Enemies of his own creation, to which he can never be reconciled, it being impossible to do Injustice, and not to fear Revenge. There is no cure for this fear, but the not deserving to be hurt; and therefore a Prince who doth not allow his thoughts to stray beyond the Rules of Justice, has always the blessing of an inward quiet and assurance, as a natural effect of his good meaning to his People, and tho' he will not neglect due precautions to secure himself in all Events, yet he is uncapable of entertaining vain and remote suspicions of those of whom he resolves never to deserve ill.

It is very hard for a Prince to fear a Rebellion, who neither doth, nor intendeth to do any thing to provoke it. Therefore so great a diligence in the Governors, to raise and improve dangers and fears from the People, is no very good Symptom, and naturally begets an influence, that they have thoughts of putting their Subjects Allegiance to a Tryal; and therefore not without some Reason fear before-hand, that the Irregularities they intend, may raise Men to a Resistance.

Our *Trimmer* thinketh it no advantage to a Government, to endeavour the suppressing all kind of Right which may remain in Body of the People, or to employ small Authors in it, whose Officiousness or want of Money may encourage them to write, tho' it is not very easie to have Abilities equal to such a Subject. They forget that in their too high strain'd Arguments for the Rights of Princes, they very often plead against known Nature, which will always give a Byas to those Reasons which seem of her side. It is the People that Readeth those Books, and it's the People must Judge of them, and therefore no Maxims should be laid down for the Right of Government, to which there can be any reasonable Objection; for the World hath an Interest, and for that Reason is more than ordinary discerning, to find out the weak sides of such Arguments as are intended to do them hurt; and it is a diminution to a Government, to Promote or Countenance such well affected Mistakes, which are turned upon it with disadvantage, whenever they are detected or expos'd; and Naturally the soo earnest Endeavors to take from Men the Right they have, tempt them by the Example, to claim that which they have not.

And therefore in Power, as in all other things, the way for Princes to keep it, is, not to grasp more than their Arms can well hold; nice and unnecessary enquiring into these things, or the Licensing some Books, and Forbidding others, without sufficient Reason to justifie the doing either, is so far from being an Advantage to a Government, that it exposeth it to the Censure of being Partial, and to the Suspicion of having some sudden Designs to be carry'd on by these unusual methods.

When

When all is said, there is a Natural Reason of State, an undefinable thing, grounded upon the common Good of Mankind, which is Immortal, and in all Changes and Revolutions, still preserveth its Original Right of saving a Nation, when a Letter of the Law perhaps would destroy it; and by whatsoever means it moveth, carrieth a Power with it that admitteth of no Opposition, being supported by Nature, which inspireth an immediate Consent at some Critical times into every individual Member, to that which visibly tendeth to the preservation of the whole; and this being so, a Wise Prince instead of controverting the right of this Reason of State, will by all means endeavour it may be of his side, and then he will be secure.

Our *Trimmer* cannot conceive that the Power of any Prince can be lasting, but where 'tis built upon the foundation of his own unborrow'd vertue, he must not only be the first Mover, and the Fountain from whence the great Acts of State originally flow, but he must be thought so by his People, that they may preserve their Veneration to him; he must be jealous of his Power, and not impart so much of it to any about him, as that he may suffer an Eclipse by it.

He cannot take too much care to keep himself up; for when a Prince is thought to be led by those, with whom he should only advise, and that the Commands he giveth are transmitted through him, and are not of his own growth; the World will look upon him as a Bird adorn'd with Feathers that are not his own, or consider him rather as an Engine than a living Creature; besides, 'twould be a Contradiction for a Prince to fear a Commonwealth, and at the same time create one himself, by delegating such a Power to any number of Men near him, as is inconsistent with the true Figure of a Monarch. It is the worst kind of Co-ordination the Crown can submit to; for it is the exercise of Power that draweth the Respect along with it, and when that is parted with, the bare Character of a King is not sufficient to keep it up. But tho' it is a diminution to a Prince, to parcel out so liberally his Power among his Favourites, it's yet worse to divide with any other Man, and to bring himself in Competition with a single Rival; a Partner in Government is so unnatural a thing, that it is a squint-ey'd Allegiance that must be paid to such a double bottom'd Monarchy. The *Cæsars* are an Example that the more civiliz'd part of the World will not be proud to follow, and whatsoever Gloss may be put upon this Method by those to whom it may be of some use, the Prince will do well to remember, and reflect upon the Story of certain Men who had set up a Statue in Honour to the Sun, yet in a very little time they turned their Backs to the Sun, and their Faces to the Statue.

These Mystical Unions are better plac'd in the other World, than they

are

are in this, and we shall have much ado to find, that in a Monarchy God's Vicegerency is delegated to more Heads than that which is anointed.

Princes may lend some of their Light to make another shine, but they must still preserve the superiority of being the brighter Planet; and when it happens the Reversion is in Mens Eyes, there is more care to keep up the Dignity of Possessions, that Men may not forget who is King, either out of their hopes or fears who shall be. If the Sun should part with all his Light, the *Indians* would not know where to find their God, after he had so deposed himself, and would make the Light (where-ever it went) the Object of their Worship.

All Usurpation is alike upon Sovereignty, it's no matter from what hand it cometh; and Crowned Heads are to be the more circumspect, in respect Mens thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is present. They love to work at a distance; and in their greedy Expectations their minds may be fill'd with a new Master, while the old one may be left to look a little out of Countenance.

Our *Trimmer* owneth a Passion for Liberty, yet so restrain'd, that it doth not in the least impair or taint his Allegiance. He thinketh it hard for a Soul that doth not love Liberty, ever to raise it self to another World; he taketh it to be the foundation of all vertue, and the only seasoning that giveth a relish to life; and tho' the lazines of a slavish Subjection, hath its Charms for the more gross and earthly part of Mankind, yet to Men made of a better sort of Clay, all that the World can give without Liberty, hath no taste. It's true, nothing is sold so cheap by unthinking Men, but that doth no more lessen the real value of it, than a Country Fellow's ignorance doth that of a Diamond, in selling it for a Pot of Ale. Liberty is the Mistress of Mankind, she hath powerful Charms that do so dazle, that we find Beauties in her which perhaps are not there, as we do in other Mistresses; yet if she was not a Beauty, the World would not run mad for her; therefore since the reasonable desire of it ought not to be restrain'd, and that even the unreasonable desire of it cannot be intirely suppress'd, those who would take it away from a People possessed of it, are likely to fail in the attempting, or be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

Our *Trimmer* admireth our blessed Constitutions, in which Dominion and Liberty are reconcil'd; it giveth to the Prince the glorious Power of Commanding Free-men; and to the Subject, the Satisfaction of seeing the Power so lodg'd, as that their Liberties are secure. It doth not allow the Crown such a Ruining Power, as that no grass may grow where-e'er it treadeth, but a Cherishing and Protecting Power; such a one as hath a grim Aspect only to the offending Subjects, but is the Joy and the Pride of

all

all the good ones; their own interest being so bound up in it, as to engage them to defend and support it; and the King is in some Circumstances restrain'd, so as nothing in the Government can move without him; our Laws make a true distinction between Vassalage and Obedience, between devouring Prerogatives, and a Licentious ungovernable Freedom: and as of all the Orders of Building, the Composite is the best, so ours by a happy mixture and a wise choice of what is the best in others, is brought into a Form; that it is our Felicity who live under it, and the envy of our Neighbours that cannot Imitate it.

The Crown hath power sufficient to protect our Liberties. The People have so much Liberty as is necessary to make them useful to the Crown.

Our Government is in a just Proportion, no Tympany, no natural swelling either of Power or Liberty; and whereas in all overgrown Monarchies, Reason, Learning and Enquiry are banished in Effigy for Mutineers; here they are encourag'd and cherish'd as the surest Friends to a Government establish'd upon the Foundation of Law and Justice. When all is done, those who look for Perfection in this World, may look as long as the Jews have done for their *Messias*, and therefore our *Trimmer* is not so unreasonably Partial as to free our Government; no doubt there have been fatal Instances of its Sickness, and more than that, of its Mortality, for sometime, tho' by a Miracle, it hath been reviv'd again: but till we have another race of Mankind, in all Constitutions that are bounded, there will ever be some matter of Strife and Contention, and rather than want Pretensions, Mens Passions and Interests will raise them from the most inconsiderable Causes.

Our Government is like our Climate, there are Winds which are sometimes loud and unquiet, and yet with all the Trouble they give us, we owe great part of our Health unto them, they clear the Air, which else would be like a standing Pool, and instead of Refreshment would be a Disease unto us.

There may be fresh Gales of asserting Liberty, without turning into such Hurricanes, as that the State should run any hazzard of being Cast away by them. Those struglings which are accidental to all mixed Governments, while they are kept from growing into Convulsions, do by a natural agitation from the several parts, rather support and strengthen, than weaken or maime the Constitution; and the whole frame, instead of being torn or disjointed, cometh to be the better and closer knit by being thus exercised. But what ever faults our Government may have, or a discerning Critick may find in it, when he looketh upon it alone; let any one be set against it, and then it shews its Comparative Beauty; let us look upon the glittering out-side of unbounded Authority, and upon a

nearer

nearer enquiry, we ſhall find nothing but poor and miſerable deformity within; let us imagine a Prince living in this Kingdom, as if he were a great Gally, his Subjects tugging at the Oar, laden with Chains, and reduc'd to real Rags; to give them imaginary Lawrels, let us preſet him gazing among his Flatterers, like a Child never contradicted, and therefore always Cozen'd, or like a Lady complemented only to be abus'd, condemn'd never to hear Truth, and conſequently never to do Juſtice, wallowing in the ſoft Bed of wanton and unbridled Greatneſs, not leſs odious to the Inſtruments themſelves, than to the Objects of his Tyranny, blown up to an Ambitious Dropſie, never to be ſatisfied by the Conqueſt of other People, or by the Oppreſſion of his own; by aiming to be more than a Man, he becomes a Beaſt, a miſtaken Creature, ſwell'd with Panegyricks, and flatter'd out of his Senſes, and not only an Incumbrance, but a common Nuſance to Mankind, a hardn'd and unrelenting Soul, and like ſome Creatures that grow fat with Poiſons, he grows great by other Mens Miſeries; an Ambitious Ape of the Divine Greatneſs, an unruly Gyant that would ſtorm even Heaven it ſelf, but that his ſcaling-Ladders are not long enough; in ſhort, a Wild Beaſt in rich Trappings, and with all his Pride no more than a Whip in God Almighty's hand, to be thrown into the Fire when the World has been ſufficiently ſcourged with it. This Picture laid in right Colours would not incite Men to wiſh for ſuch a Government, but rather to acknowledge the happineſs of our own, under which we enjoy all the Priviledges Reaſonable Men can deſire, and avoid all the Miſeries others are ſubject to; ſo that our *Trimmer* would keep it with all its faults, and doth as little forgive thoſe who give the occaſion of breaking it, as he doth thoſe that take it.

Our *Trimmer* is a Friend to Parliaments, notwithſtanding all their faults, and exceſſes, which of late hath given ſuch matter of Objection to them. He thinks that tho' they may at ſometimes be troubleſome to Authority, yet they add the greateſt ſtrength to it under a wiſe Adminiſtration; ſince no Government is perfect, except Omnipotence reſide in it, to be exercis'd upon great Occaſions. Now this cannot be obtain'd by Force upon the People, let it be never ſo great, there muſt be their conſent too, or elſe a Nation moveth only by being driven, a ſluggiſh and reſtrained Motion, void of that Life and Vigour which is neceſſary to produce great things, whereas the virtual Conſent of the whole being included in their Repreſentatives, and the King giving the ſanction of the united ſenſe of the People, every Act done by ſuch an Authority, ſeemeth to be an effect of their choice as well as part of their Duty; and they with an eagerneſs, of which Men are uncapable of whilſt under a force, obey and execute whatſoever is ſo enjoyned as their own Wills, better explained by Parliament,

liament, rather than from the terrour of incurring the Penalty of the Law for omitting it, and by means of this Political Omnipotence, what ever Sap or Juice there is in a Nation, may be to the last drop produc'd, whilst it rises naturally from the Root; whereas all Power exercis'd without consent, is the giving Wounds and Gashes, and tapping a Tree at unseasonable Times, for the present Occasion, which in a very little time must needs destroy it.

Our *Trimmer* believes, that by the advantage of our Situation, there can hardly any such Disease come upon us, but that the King may have time enough to consult with Physitians in Parliament; pretences indeed may be made, but a real necessity so pressing, that no delay is to be admitted, is hardly to be imagined, and it will be neither easie to give an instance of any such thing for the time past, or reasonable to presume it will ever happen for the time to come; but if that strange thing should fall out, our *Trimmer* is not so strait-lac'd, as to let a Nation dye, or to be stifled, rather than it should be help'd by the proper Officers. The Cases themselves will bring a Remedy along with them; and he is not afraid to allow that in order to its Preservation, there is a hidden Power in Government, which would be lost if it was design'd, a certain Mystery, by which a Nation may at some critical times be secur'd from Ruine, but then it must be kept as a Mistery; it is rendred useless, when touch'd by unlucky hands; and no Government ever had or deserv'd to have that Power, which was so unwary as to anticipate their claim to it. Our *Trimmer* cannot help thinking it had been better, if the Triennial Act had been observ'd; first, because 'tis the Law, and he would not have the Crown, by such an example, teach the Nation to break it; all irregularity is catching, it hath a Contagion in it, especially in an Age, so much more inclin'd to follow ill Patterns than good ones.

He would have a Parliament, because 'tis an Essential part of the Constitution, even without the Law, it being the only Provision in extraordinary Cases, in which there would be otherwise no Remedy, and there can be no greater Solecisme in Government, than a failure of Justice.

He would have one, because nothing else can unite and heal us, all other Means are meer Shifts and Projects, Houses of Cards, and blown down with the least Breath, and cannot resist the difficulties which are ever presum'd in things of this kind; and he would have had one, because it might have done the King good, and could not possibly have done him hurt, without his Consent, which in that case is not to be supposed, and therefore for him to fear it, is so strange and so little to be comprehended, that the Reasons can never be presum'd to grow in our Soil, or to thrive in it when Transplanted from any other Country, and no doubt there are

such irresistible Arguments for calling a Parliament, that tho' it may be deny'd to the unmannerly threatning Petitions of men that are malicious and disaffected, it will be granted to the obsequious Murmurs of his Majesties best Subjects, and there will be such a Rhetorick in their silent Grief, that it will at last prevail against the Artifices of those, who either out of Guilt or Interest are afraid to throw themselves upon their Country, knowing how scurvily they have used it; that day of Judgment will come, tho' we know not the day nor the hour. And our *Trimmer* would live so as to be prepared for it, with full assurance in the mean time, that a lamenting Voice of a Nation cannot long be resisted, and that a Prince, who could so easily forgive his People when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

The *Trimmers* Opinion concerning Protestant Religion.

RElegion hath such a Superiority above other things, and that indispensable Influence upon all Mankind, that it is as necessary to our living Happy in this World, as it is to our being Sav'd in the next. Without it Man is an abandon'd Creature, one of the worst Beasts Nature hath produc'd, and fit only for the Society of Wolves and Bears; therefore in all Ages it hath been the Foundation of Government, and tho' false Gods have been impos'd upon the credulous part of the World, yet they were Gods still in their Opinion, and the Awe and Reverence Men had to them and their Oracles, kept them within bounds towards one another, which the Laws with all their Authority could never have effected without the help of Religion. For the Laws would not be able to subdue the perverseness of Mens Wills, which are Wild Beasts, and require a double Chain to keep them down. For this Reason 'tis said, That it is not a sufficient ground to make War upon a neighbouring State, because they are of another Religion, let it be never so differing; yet if they worship'd nor acknowledg'd no Deity, they may be invaded as Publick Enemies of Mankind, because they reject the only thing that can bind them to live well with one another. The consideration of Religion is so Interessed with that of Government, that it is never to be separated, and the Foundations of it are to be suited to the several Climates and Constitutions, so that they may keep men in a willing Acquiescence unto them, without

without diſcompoſing the World by nice Diſputes, which can never be of equal moment with the publick Peace.

Our Religion here in *England* ſeems to be diſtinguiſh'd by a peculiar effect of God Almighty's Goodneſs, in permitting it to be introduc'd, or more properly reſtor'd, by a more regular Method than the Circumſtances of more other Reformed Churches would allow them to do, in relation to the Government; and the Dignity with which it hath ſupported it ſelf ſince, and the great Men our Church hath produc'd, ought to recommend it to the eſteem of all Proteſtants at leaſt. Our *Trimmer* is very partial to it, for theſe Reaſons, and many more, and deſiring that it may preſerve its due Juriſdiction and Authority, ſo far he is from wiſhing it oppreſſed by the unreaſonable and malicious Cavils of thoſe who take pains to raiſe Objections againſt it.

The Queſtion will then be, how and by what Methods the Church ſhall beſt ſupport it ſelf (the preſent Circumſtances conſider'd) in relation to Diſſenters of all ſorts? I will firſt lay it for a ground, That as there can be no true Religion without Charity, ſo there can be no true human Prudence without bearing and condeſcenſion. This Principle doth not extend to oblige the Church always to yield to thoſe who are diſpos'd to moleſt it, the expediency of doing it is to be conſider'd and determin'd according to the occaſion, and this leadeth me to lay open the thoughts of our *Trimmer*, in reference, firſt, to the *Proteſtants*, and then to the *Papiſts Recuſants*.

What hath lately hapned among us, makes an Apology neceſſary for ſaying any thing that looketh like favour towards a ſort of Men who have brought themſelves under ſuch a diſadvantage.

The late Conſpiracy hath ſuch broad Symptoms of the diſaffection of the whole party, that upon the firſt reflections, while our thoughts are warm, it would almoſt perſwade us to put them out of the protection of our good Nature, and to think that the Chriſtian Indulgence which our compaſſion for other Mens ſufferings cannot eaſily deny, ſeemeth not only to be forfeited by the ill appearances that are againſt them, but even becometh a Crime when it is ſo miſapply'd; yet for all this, upon ſecond and cooler thoughts, moderate Men will not be ſo ready to involve a whole Party in the guilt of a few, and to admit Inferences and Preſumptions to be Evidence in a Caſe, where the Sentence muſt be ſo heavy, as it ought to be againſt all thoſe who have a fixed reſolution againſt the Government eſtabliſhed. Beſides, Men who act by a Principle grounded upon Moral Virtue, can never let it be clearly extinguiſh'd by the moſt repeated Provocations. If a right thing agreeable to Nature and good Senſe, taketh root in the Heart of a Man that is impartial and unbyaſs'd, no

outward Circumstances can ever destroy it. It's true, the degrees of a Mans Zeal for the prosecution of it may be differing, the faults of other Men, the consideration of the Publick, and the seasonable Prudence by which wise Men will ever be directed, may give great delays, they may lessen, and for a time perhaps suppress the exercise of that, which in a general Prosecution may be reasonable, but at length it will inevitably grow and spring up again, having a Foundation in Nature, which is never to be destroyed.

Our *Trimmer* therefore endeavoureth to separate the detestation of of those who had either a hand or thought in the late Plot, from the Principle of Prudential as well as Christian Charity towards Mankind; and for that reason, would fain use the means of retaining such of the Dissenters as are not injurable, and even to bearing to a degree those that are, as far as may consist with the Publick Interest and Security. He is far from justifying an affected separation from the Communion of the Church, even in those that mean well, and are mistaken; he looketh upon it as a Disease that hath seiz'd upon their Minds, very troublesome as well as dangerous by the Consequence it may produce. He doth not go about to excuse their making it an indispensable Duty, to meet in numbers to sly their Prayers: Such Meetings may prove mischievous to the State at least; the Laws which are the best Judges, have determin'd that there is danger in them: he hath good nature enough to lament that the perverseness of a Part should have drawn rigorous Laws upon the Body of the Dissenters: But when they are once made, no private Opinion must stand in opposition to them; if they are in themselves reasonable, they are in that respect to be regarded, even without being enjoyned. But if by the Change of Laws and Circumstances they should become less reasonable than when they were first made, even then they are to be obey'd too, because they are Laws, till they are mended or repeal'd by the same Authority that Enacted them.

He hath too much deference to the Constitution of our Government, to wish any more Prerogative Declarations in favour of scrupulous Men, or to dispense with Penal Laws in such manner, and to such an end, that suspecting Men might with some reason pretend, that so hated a thing as Persecution could never make way for it self with any hopes of Success, otherwise than by preparing the deluded World by a false prospect of Liberty and Indulgence. The inward Springs and Wheels whereby the Engine mov'd, are now so fully laid open and expos'd, that it is not supposible that such a baffl'd Experiment should ever be try'd again. The effect it had at the time, and the Spirit it rais'd, will not easily be forgotten, and it may be presum'd the remembrance of it may se-

cure

cure us from any more attempts of that nature for the future; we must no more break a Law to give Men ease, than we are to rob an House with a devout intention of giving Plunder to the Poor; in this case, our Compassion would be as ill directed, as our Charity in the other.

In that the veneration due to the Laws is never to be thrown off, let the Pretences be never so specious; yet with all this he cannot bring himself to think, that an extraordinary diligence to take the uttermost penalty of the Laws upon the poor offending Neighbour, is of it self such an all-sufficient vertue, that without something else to recommend Men, it should Entitle them to all kind of Preferments and Rewards. He would not detract from the Merits of those who execute the Laws, yet he cannot think such a piece of service can entirely change the Man, or either make him a better Divine, or a more knowing Magistrate than he was before, especially if it be not done with a partial and unequal hand, in reference to greater and more dangerous Offenders.

Our *Trimmer* would have those mistaken Men ready to throw themselves into the Arms of the Church, and he would have those Arms as ready to receive them; he would have no supercilious look to fright those stray'd Sheep from coming into the Fold again; no ill-natur'd Maxims of an eternal suspition, or a belief that those who have once been in the wrong, can ever be in the right again; but a visible preparation of mind to receive with joy all the Proselites that come amongst us, and much greater earnestness to reclaim than punish them. It is to be confess'd, there is a great deal to forgive, a hard task enough for a Church so provoked; but that must not cut off all hopes of being reconciled. Yet if there must be some anger left still, let it break out into a Christian Revenge, and by being kinder to the Children of Disobedience than they deserve, let the injur'd Church triumph, by throwing shame and confusion of face upon them. There should not always be Storms and Thunder, a clear Sky would sometime make the Church more like Heaven, and would be more towards the reclaiming those Wanderers, than a perpetual terror, which seemeth to have no intermission. For there is in many, and particularly in *English-Men*, a mistaken pleasure, in resisting the Dictates of rigorous Authority; a Stomach that riseth against a hard imposition, nay, in some, it raises even a lust in suffering from a wrong point of Honour, which doth not want her greater applause, from the greater part of Mankind, who have not learnt to distinguish: constancy will be thought a Vertue even where it is a mistake; and the ill judging World will be apt to applaud that Opinion in thought which produceth the greatest number of those, who are willing to suffer for it. All this is prevented, and falleth to the ground, by using well-tim'd Indulgence;

and

and the ſtubborn Adverſary who values himſelf upon his reſiſtance whilſt he is oppreſs'd, yieldeth inſenſibly to kind Methods, when they are apply'd to him, and the ſame Man naturally melteth into Conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught by the Compaſſion that attendeth the moſt Criminal Men when they are Condemned, that Faults are more natural things than Puniſhments, and that even the moſt neceſſary acts of Severity do ſome kind of violence to our Nature, whoſe Indulgence will not be confin'd within the ſtrait bounds of inexorable Juſtice; ſo that this ſhould be an Argument for gentleneſs, beſides that it is the likelieſt way to make Men aſham'd of their Separation, whilſt the preſſing them too hard, tendeth rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy ſupported in their lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongeth to them, and yet he thinketh poſſibly there may be in ſome of them a too great eagerneſs to extend the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, which tho' it may be well intended, yet the ſtraining of it too high hath an appearance of Ambition, that cauſeth many Objections to it, and it is very unlike the Apoſtolick Zeal, which was quite otherwiſe employ'd; ſo that the World draweth Inferences from it, which do the Church no Service.

He is troubled to ſee Men of all ſides ſick of a Calenture of a miſtaken Devotion, and it ſeemeth to him that the devout Fire of mutual Charity, with which the Primitive Chriſtians were inflam'd, is long ſince extinguiſh'd, and inſtead of it a devouring Fire of Anger and Perſecution breaketh out in the World. We wrangle now one with another about Religion till the Cloud cometh, whilſt the Ten Commandments have no more Authority with us, than if they were ſo many obſolete Laws, or Proclamations out of date. He thinks that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made a Hereſie; and therefore as he believeth Devotion miſplac'd where it getteth into a Convent title, he concludeth that Loyalty is ſo, when lodg'd in a drunken Club, whoſe Vertues deſerve a better Seat of Empire, and they are degraded, when ſuch Men undertake their defence, as have ſo great need for an Apology themſelves.

Our *Trimmer* wiſheth that ſome knowledge may go along with the Zeal on the right ſide, and that thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of the Pulpit, would quote at leaſt ſo often the Authority of the Scriptures as they do that of the State; there are many who borrow too often Arguments from the Government, to uſe againſt their Adverſaries, and neglect thoſe that are more proper, and would be more powerful. A Divine grows leſs, and putteth a diminution on his own Character, when he quoteth any Law but

that

that of God Almighty, to get the better of those who contest with him. And as it is a sign of a decay'd Constitution, when Nature with good diet cannot expel noxious Humors without calling foreign Drugs to her Assistance; So it looketh like want of Health in a Church, when instead of depending upon that Truth which it holdeth, and the good Examples of them that teach it, to support it self, and to suppress Errors, it should have a perpetual recourse to the Secular Authority, and even upon the slightest occasions.

Our *Trimmer* hath his Objections to the too hasty diligence, and to the overdoing of some of the dissenting Clergy, and he doth as little approve of those of our Church, who wear God Almighty's Liveries, as some old Warders in the *Tower* do the King's, who do nothing in their Place but receive their wages for it. He thinketh that the Liberty of the late times gave Men so much Light, and diffus'd it so universally amongst the People, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been in times of less enquiry; and therefore tho' in some well chosen and dearly beloved Auditories, good resolute Nonsence back'd with Authority, may prevail, yet generally Men are become so good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impose upon their Understandings, which are grown less humble than in former times, when the Men in Black had made Learning such a Sin in the Laity, that for fear of offending, they made a Conscience of being able to read; but now the World is grown sawcy, and do expect Reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Mens Dictates, tho' never so Magisterially deliver'd to them.

Our *Trimmer* is far from approving the Hypocrisie which seemeth to be the reigning Voice amongst some of the Dissenting Clergy. He thinketh it the most provoking Sin Men can be guilty of, in relation to Heaven; and yet (which may seem strange) that very Sin which shall destroy the Soul of the Man who preaches, may help to save those of the Company that hear him; and even those who are cheated by the false ostentation of his strictness of Life, may by that Pattern be encourag'd to the real Practice of those Christian Vertues which he doth so deceitfully profess; so that the d exectation of this ault may possibly be carry'd on too far by our own Orthodox Divines, if they think it cannot be enough expressd without bending the Stick another way. A dangerous Method, and a worse Extream for Men of that Character, who by going to the outward line of Christian Liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it. No Man doth less approve the ill-bred Methods of some of the Dissenters, in rebuking Authority, who behave themselves as if they thought ill manners necessary to Salvation: yet he cannot but distinguish and desire a Mean

between

between the sawcineſs of ſome of the *Scotch Apoſtles*, and the indecent Courtſhip of ſome of the Silken Divines, who, one would think, do practice to bow at the Altar, only to learn to make the better Legs at Court.

Our *Trimmer* approveth the Principles of our Church, That Dominion is not founded in Grace, and that our Obedience is to be given to a Popiſh King in other things, at the ſame time that our Compliance with him in his Religion is to be deny'd: Yet he cannot but think it an extraordinary thing if a Proteſtant Church ſhould by a voluntary Election chuſe a Papiſt for their Guardian, and receive Directions for ſupporting our Religion from one who muſt believe it a Mortal Sin not to endeavour to deſtroy it. Such a refin'd piece of Breeding would not ſeem to be very well plac'd in the Clergy, who will hardly find Preſidents to juſtifie ſuch an extravagant piece of Courtſhip, and which is ſo unlike the Primitive Methods, which ought to be our Pattern. He hath no ſuch unreaſonable Tenderneſs for any ſorts of Men, as to expect their Faults ſhould not be impartially laid open as often as they give occaſion for it; and yet he cannot but ſmile to ſee the ſame Man, who ſetteth up all the Sails of his Rhetorick, to fall upon Diſſenters; when Popery is to be handled, he doth it ſo gingerly, that he looketh like an Aſs mumbling of Thiſtles, ſo afraid he is of letting himſelf looſe upon a Subject, where he may be in danger of letting his Duty get the better of his Diſcretion.

Our *Trimmer* is far from reliſhing the impertinent Wandrings of thoſe who pour out long Prayers upon the Congregation, and all from their own Stock, which God knows, for the moſt part, is a barren Soil, which produceth Weeds inſtead of Flowers, and by this means they expoſe Religion it ſelf, rather than promote Mens Devotions: On the other ſide, there may be too great Reſtraint put upon Men, whom God and Nature hath diſtinguiſhed from their Fellow-Labourers, by bleſſing them with a happier Talent, and by giving them not only good Senſe, but a powerful Utterance too, hath enabled them to guſh out upon the attentive Auditory with a mighty Stream of Devout and unaffected Eloquence. When a Man qualified, endued with Learning too, and above that, adorn'd with a good Life, breaks out into a warm and well-deliver'd Prayer before his Sermon, it hath the appearance of a Divine Rapture. He raiſeth and leadeth the Hearts of the Aſſembly in another manner than the moſt Compos'd or beſt Studied Form of Set Words can ever do; and the *Pray-wees*, who ſerve up all the Sermon with the ſame Garniſhing, would look like ſo many Statues, or Men of Straw in the Pulpit, compar'd with thoſe who ſpeak with ſuch a Powerful

Zea

Zeal, that Men are tempted at the ſame moment to believe Heaven it ſelf hath directed their Words to them.

Our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably indulgent to the Diſſenters, as to excuſe the Irregularities of their Complaints, and to approve their threatning Stiles, which is ſo ill ſuited to their Circumſtances as well as to their Duty. He would have them to ſhew their Grief, and not their Anger to the Government, and by ſuch a Submiſſion to Authority, as becomes them, if they cannot acquieſce in what is impoſed. Let them deſerve a Legiſlative Remedy to their Sufferings, there being no other way to give them perfect redreſs; For either to ſeek it, or pretend to give it by any other Method, would not only be vain but Criminal too in thoſe that go about it; nevertheleſs, there may in the mean time be a prudential Latitude left, as to the manner of preventing the Laws now in force againſt them. The Government is in ſome degree anſwerable for ſuch an Adminiſtration of them, as may be free from the Cenſure of Impartial Judges; and in order to that, it would be neceſſary that one of theſe Methods be purſued, either to let looſe the Laws to their utmoſt extent, without any Moderation or Reſtraint, in which at leaſt the Equality of the Government would be without Objection, the Penalties being exacted without Remiſſion from the Diſſenters of all kinds; or if that will not be done (and indeed there is no reaſon it ſhould) there is a neceſſity of ſome Connivance to the Proteſtant Diſſenters to execute that which in Humanity muſt be allowed to the Papiſts, even without any leaning towards them, which muſt be ſuppoſed in thoſe who are or ſhall be in the Adminiſtration of publick Buſineſs; and it will follow that, according to our Circumſtances, the diſtinction of ſuch connivance muſt be made in ſuch manner, that the greateſt part of it may fall on the Proteſtant ſide, or elſe the Objections will be ſo ſtrong, and the Inferences ſo clear, that the Friends, as well as the Enemies of the Crown, will be ſure to take hold of them.

It will not be ſufficient to ſay, the Papiſts may be conniv'd at, becauſe they be good Shbjects, but not the Proteſtant Diſſenters, becauſe they are ill ones; theſe general Maxims will not convince diſcerning Men, neither will any late Inſtances make them forget what hath paſſed at other times in the World. Both ſides have had their Turns of being good and ill Subjects, therefore 'tis eaſie to imagine what ſuſpicions would ariſe in the preſent conjuncture, if ſuch a partial Argument as this ſhould be impos'd upon us; the truth is, the Matter ſpeaketh ſo much of it ſelf, that it is not only unneceſſary, but it may be unmannerly to ſay any more of it.

Our *Trimmer* therefore wiſheth, that ſince notwithſtanding the Laws

which deny Churches to ſay Maſs in; not only the Exerciſe, but alſo the Oſtentation of Popery is as well or better performed in the Chappels of ſo many Foreign Miniſters, where the *Engliſh* openly reſort in ſpight of Proclamations and Orders of Council, which are grown to be as harmleſs things to them, as the Popes Bulls and Excommunications are to Hereticks who are out of his reach; I ſay he could wiſh that by a ſeaſonable as well as an equal piece of Juſtice, there might be ſo much conſideration had of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, as that there might be at ſome times, and at ſome places, a Veil thrown over an Innocent and retired Conventicle. And to the end ſuch an Indulgence might be practic'd with leſs prejudice to the Church, or diminution to the Laws, our *Trimmer* wiſhes it might be done ſo, as to look rather like a kind Omiſſion to enquire too ſtrictly, than an allow'd Toleration of that which is againſt the Rule Eſtabliſhed.

Such a skilful hand as this is very neceſſary in our Circumſtances, and the Government by forbearing to make Men intirely deſperate, doth not only ſecure it ſelf from danger of any Wild or Villainous attempts, but layeth ſuch a Foundation for healing and uniting Laws, when ever a Parliament ſhall meet, that the Seeds of Differences and Animoſities between the contending ſides may (Heaven conſenting) be for ever deſtroy'd.

The *Trimmer*'s Opinion concerning the Papiſts.

TO ſpeak of Popery leadeth me into ſuch a Sea of Matter, that it is not eaſie to forbear launching into it, being invited by ſuch a fruitful ſtream, and by a variety never to be exhauſted; but to confine it to the preſent Subject, I will only only ſay a ſhort word of the Religion it ſelf; of its Influences here at this time; and of the *Trimmer*'s Opinion in Relation to our living with them.

If a Man would ſpeak Maliciouſly of this Religion, one might ſay it is like a Diſeaſe, where as long as one drop of the Infection remains, there is ſtill danger of having the whole Maſs of Blood corrupted by it. In *Swedeland* there was an abſolute cure, and nothing of Popery heard of, till Queen *Chriſtiana* (whether moved with Arguments of this or the other World, may not be good Manners to enquire) thought fit to change her Religion and Country, and to live at *Rome* where ſhe might find better judges of her Vertues, and leſs ungentle Cenſures of thoſe Princely Liberties ſhe was ſometimes diſpoſed to, than ſhe left at *Stockholme*, where the

the good breeding is much inferior to that of *Rome*, as well as the Civility of the Religion: The Cardinals having rescued the Church from those Clownish Methods the Fisher-men had first introduc'd, and mended that Pattern so effectually, that a Man of that Age, if he should now come into the World, would not possibly know it.

In *Denmark* the Reformation was entire; and in some States of *Germany*, as well as *Geneva*, the Cure was universal; but in the rest of the World, where the Protestant Religion took place, the Popish humour was too high to be totally expell'd, and so it was in *England*, tho' the Change was made with all the advantgge imaginable to the Reformation, it being Countenanc'd and Introduc'd by Legal Authority, and by that means might have been perhaps as perfect as in any other Place, if the short Reign of *Edward* the 6*th*. and the Succession of a Popish Queen had not given such advantage to that Religion, that it hath subsisted ever since under all the hardships that have been put upon it; it hath been a strong Compact Body, and made the more so by these Sufferings; it was not strong enough to prevail, but it was able, with the help of *Rome*, to carry on an Interest which gave the Crown trouble, and to make a considerable (not to say dangerous) Figure in the Nation. So much as this could not have been done without some hopes, nor these hopes kept up without some reasonable grounds. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the *Spanish* Zeal for their Religion, and the Revenge for 88, gave warmth for the Papists here, and above all, the sight of the Queen of *Scots* to succeed, while she lived, was sufficient to give them a better prospect of their Affairs. In King *James*'s time their hopes were raised by the *Spanish* Match and his gentleness towards them, which they were ready to interpret more in their own Favour, than was either reasonable or became them: so little tenderness they have, even where it is most due, if the Interest of their Religion cometh in competition with it.

As for the late King, tho' he gave the most Glorious Evidence that ever Man did of his being a Protestant, yet, by the more than ordinary Influence the Queen was thought to have over him, and it so happening that the greatest part of his Anger was directed against the *Puritans*, there was such an advantage for Men to suspect, that they were ready to interpret it a leaning towards Popery, without which handle it was Morally impossible that the ill-affected part of the Nation could ever have seduc'd the rest into a Rebellion.

That which help'd to confirm many well-meaning Men in their Misapprehensions of the King, was the long and unusual intermission of Parliaments, so that every year that passed without one, made up a new Argument to increase their Suspicion, and made them presume that the

Papists had a principal hand in keeping them off. This raised such heats in Mens Minds, to think that Men who are obnoxious to the Laws, instead of being punished should have credit enough to serve themselves, even at the price of destroying the fundamental Constitution; that it broke out into a Flame, which, before it could be quenched, had almost reduc'd the Nation to Ashes.

Amongst the miserable effects of that unnatural War, none hath been more fatal to us, than the forcing our Princes to breath in another Air, and to receive the early impressions of a Foreign Education; the Barbarity of the *English* towards the King and the Royal Family, might very well tempt him to think the better of every thing he found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleness, at least, towards a Religion by which he was hospitably receiv'd, at the same time that he was thrown off and Persecuted by the Protestants (tho' his own Subjects) to aggravate the Offence. The Queen Mother (as generally Ladies do with age) grew most devout and earnest in her Religion; and besides the Temporal Rewards of getting larger Subsidies from the *French* Clergy, she had Motives of another kind, to perswade her to shew her Zeal; and since by the *Roman* Dispensatory, a Soul converted to the Church is a Soveraign Remedy, and layeth up a mighty stock of merit; she was solicitous to secure her self in all Events, and therefore first set upon the Duke of *Glocester*, who depended so much upon her good will, that she might for that reason believe the Conquest would not be difficult; but it so fell out, that he either from his own Constancy, or that he had those near him by whom he was otherways advis'd, chose rather to run away from her importunity, than by staying to bear the continual weight of it. It is believed this had better success with another of her Sons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our Religion, at least, such beginnings were made, as made them very easie to be finish'd; his being of a generous and aspiring Nature, and in that respect, less patient in the drudgery of Arguing, might possibly help to recommend a Church to him, that exempteth the Laity from the vexation of enquiring; perhaps he might (tho' by mistake) look upon that Religion as more favourable to the enlarged Power of Kings, a Consideration which might have its weight with a young Prince in his warm Blood, and that was brought up in Arms.

I cannot hinder my self from a small digression, to consider with admiration that the Old Lady of *Rome*, with all her wrinkles, should yet have Charms to subdue great Princes, so painted and yet so pretending; after having abus'd, depos'd, and murther'd so many of her Lovers, she still findeth others glad and proud of their new Chains; a thing so strange to indifferent Judges, that those who will allow no other Miracles in the

Church

Church of *Rome*, must needs grant that this is one not to be contested. She setteth in her Shop, and selleth at dear Rates her Rattles and her Hobby-Horses, whilst the deluded World still continues to furnish her with Customers.

But whither am I carried with this Contemplation? It is high time to return to my Text, and to consider the Wonderful manner of the Kings coming home again, led by the hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of his own People, who receiv'd him, if possible, with Joys equal to the Blessing of Peace and Union, which his Restauration brought along with it; by this there was an end put to the hopes some might have abroad, of making use of his less happy Circumstances, to throw him into foreign Interests and Opinions, which had been wholly inconsistent with our Religion, our Laws, and all other things that are dear to us; yet for all this, some of those Tinctures and Impressions might so far remain, as tho' they were very innocent in him, yet they might have ill effects, by softning the Animosity which seems necessary to the Defender of the Protestant Faith, in opposition to such a powerful and irreconcileable Enemy.

You may be sure, that among all the sorts of Men who apply'd themselves to the King at his first coming, for his Protection; the Papists were not the last, nor, as they fain would have flatter'd themselves, the least welcome, having their past Sufferings, as well as their present Professions to recommend them; and there was something that look'd like a Considerable Consideration of them, since so it happened that the Indulgence promised to Dissenters at *Breda*, was carried on in such a manner, that the Papists were to divide with them: and tho' the Parliament, notwithstanding its Resignations to the Crown in all other things, rejected with scorn and anger a Declaration fram'd for this purpose, yet the Birth and steps of it gave such an alarm, that Mens suspicions once raised, were not easily laid asleep again.

To omit other things, the breach of the Tripple League, and the *Dutch* War with its appurtenances, carried Jealousies to the highest pitch imaginable, and feed the hopes of one Party, and the fears of the other to such a degree, that some Critical Resolutions were generally expected, when the ill success of that War, and the Sacrifice, Fame thought fit to make of the Papists here, to their own Interest abroad, gave another Check; and the Act of enjoyning the *Test* on all Officers, was thought to be no ill Bargain to the Nation, tho' bought at the Price of 1200000 *l.* and the Money apply'd to continue the War against the *Dutch*, than which nothing could be more unpopular or less approv'd. But notwithstanding those discouragements, Popery is a Plant that may be mowed down,

but

but the Root will ſtill remain, and in ſpite of the Laws, it will ſprout up and grow again; eſpecially if it ſhould happen that there ſhould be Men in Power, who inſtead of weeding it out of our Garden, will take care to Cheriſh and keep it alive; and tho' the Law of Excluding them from Places, was tolerably kept as to their outward Form, yet there were many Circumſtances, which being improv'd by the quick-ſighted Malice of ill affected Men, did help to keep up the World in their ſuſpicions, and to blow up Jealouſies to ſuch a height both in and out of Parliament, that the remembrance of them is very unpleaſant, and the Example ſo extravagant, that it is to be hop'd nothing in our Age like it will be attempted. But to come cloſer to the Caſe in queſtion, in this Condition we ſtand with the Papiſts, what ſhall now be done according to our *Trimmer's* Opinion? In order to the better clearing of this grievance, ſince as I have ſaid before, there is no hopes of being entirely free from it; the Papiſts we muſt have among us, and if their Religion keep them from bringing honey to the Hive, let the Government try at leaſt by gentle and not by violent means to take away the Sting from them. The firſt Foundation to be laid is, that a diſtinct conſideration is to be had of the Popiſh Clergy, who have ſuch an Eſſential Intereſt againſt all accomodation, that it is a hopeleſs thing to propoſe any thing to them leſs than all; their Stomachs have been fit for it ever ſince the Reformation, they have pinn'd themſelves to a Principle that admits no mean; they believe Proteſtants will be Damn'd, and therefore by an extraordinary Effect of Chriſtian Charity, they would deſtroy one half of *England*, that the other might be ſaved. Then for the World, they muſt be in poſſeſſion for God almighty, to receive his Rents for him, not to accopmt till the day of Judgment, which is a good kind of Tenure, and ye cannot well blame the good Men, that will ſtir up the Laity to run any hazard in order to the getting them reſtor'd. What is it to the Prieſt, if the deluded Zealot undoes himſelf in the Attempt? He ſingeth Maſſes as Joyfully, and with as good a Voice at *Rome* or St. *Omers* as ever he did; is a ſingle Man and can have no wants but ſuch as may be eaſily ſupply'd; yet that he may not ſeem altogether inſenſible or ungrateful to thoſe that are his Martyrs, he is ready to aſſure their Executors, and if they pleaſe, will procure a Grant *ſub Annulo Piſcatoris*, that the good Man by being changed, hath got a good Bargain, and ſav'd the ſinging of ſome hundred of years, which he would elſe have had in Purgatory. There's no cure for thoſe ſorts of Men, no Expedient to be propos'd, ſo that tho' the utmoſt ſeverity of the Laws againſt them, may in ſome ſort be mittigated, yet no Treaty can be made with Men who in this Caſe have no free will, but are ſo muffled by Zeal, tyed by Vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable Maxims of the Prieſthood, that they are to be left

deſperate

ſperate Patients, and look'd upon as Men that will continue in an Eternal State of Hoſtility, till the Nation is entirely ſubdu'd to them. It is then only the Lay Papiſts that are capable of being treated with, and we are to examine of what temper they are, and what Arguments are the moſt likely to prevail upon them, and how 'tis adviſable for the Government to be Indulgent unto them. The Lay Papiſts generally keep their Religion, rather becauſe they will not break Company with thoſe of their Party, than out of any ſettled Zeal that hath Root in them; moſt of them do by the Mediation of the Prieſts, Marry one another, and keep up an ignorant Opinion by hearing only one ſide. Others look upon it as they do upon Scutcheons, the more Antient Religion of the two; and as ſome Men of a good Pedigree, will deſpiſe meaner Men, tho' never ſo much ſuperior to them by Nature, ſo theſe undervalue Reformation as an Upſtart, and think there is more Honour in ſupporting an old Errour, than in embracing what ſeemeth to be a new Truth. The Laws have made them Men of Pleaſure, by excluding them from Publick Buſineſs, and it happens well they are ſo, ſince they will the more eaſily be perſwaded by Arguments of Eaſe and Conveniency to them; they have not put off the Man in general, nor the *Engliſhman* in particular; thoſe who in the late ſtorm againſt them went into other Countries, tho' they had all the Advantage that might recommend them to a good Reception, yet in a little time they choſe to ſteal over again, and live here with hazard, rather than abroad with ſecurity. There is a Smell in our Natural Earth, better than all the Perfumes in the Eaſt; there is ſomething in a Mother, tho' never ſo Angry, that the Children will more Naturally truſt, ſooner than the Studied Civilities of Strangers, let them be never ſo Hoſpitable; therefore 'tis not adviſable, nor agreeing with the Rules of Governing Prudence, to provoke Men by hardſhips to forget that Nature, which elſe is ſure to be of our ſide.

When theſe men by fair Uſage are put again into their right Senſes, they will have quite differing Reflections from thoſe which Rigour and Perſecution had raiſed in them. A Lay Papiſt will firſt conſider his Abby-Lands, which notwithſtanding whatever hath or can be alledged, muſt ſink conſiderably in the Value, the moment that Popery prevaileth. And it being a Diſputable Matter whether Zeal might not in a little time get the better of the Law in that caſe, a conſidering Man will admit that as an Argument to perſwade him, to be content with things as they are, rather than run this or any other hazard by Change, in which perhaps he may have no other Advantage, than that his new humble Confeſſor may be rais'd to a Biſhoprick; and from thence look down ſupercilioufly upon his Patron, or which is worſe, run to take Poſſeſſion, for God Almighty, of his Abby, in ſuch manner

ner as the usurping Landlord (as he will then be called) shall hardly be admitted to be so much as a Tenant to his own Lands, lest his Title should prejudice that of the Church, which will then be the language, he will think what disadvantage 'tis to be look'd upon as a separate Creature, depending upon foreign Interest and Authority, and for that reason, expos'd to the Jealousie and Suspicion of his Countrymen; he will reflect what an Incumbrance it is to have his House a Pasture for hungry Priests to grow in, which have such a never-failing Influence upon the Foolish, which is the greatest part of every Man's Family, that a Man's Dominion, even over his own Children, is mangled and divided, if not totally undermin'd by them; then to be subject to what Arbitrary Taxes the Popish Convocations shall impose upon them for the carrying on the Common Interest of that Religion, under Penalty of being mark'd out for half Hereticks by the rest of the Laity, to have no share in Business, no opportunity of shewing his own Value to the World; to live at the best an useless, and by others to be thought a dangerous Member of the Nation where he is born, is a burden to a generous Mind that cannot be taken off by all the Pleasure of an easie unmanly life, or by the nauseous enjoyment of a dull Plenty, that produceth no good for the Mind, which will ever be consider'd in the first place by a Man that hath a Soul; when he should think, that if his Religion, after his wading through a Sea of Blood, come at last to prevail, it would infinitely lessen, if not intirely destroy the Glory, Riches, Strength and Liberty of his own Country; and what a Sacrifice is this to make to *Rome*, where they are wise enough to wonder there should be such Fools in the World, as to venture, struggle, and contend, nay, even to die Martyrs for that which, should it succeed, would prove a Judgment instead of a Blessing to them; he will conclude that the advantages of throwing some of their Children back again to God Almighty when they have too many of them, are not equal to the Inconveniencies they may either feel or fear, by continuing their separation from the Religion Established.

Moral things will have their weight in the World, and tho' Zeal may prevail for a time, and get the better in a Skirmish, yet the War endeth generally on the side of Flesh and Blood, and will do so till Mankind is another thing than it is at present. And therefore a wise Papist, in cold Blood, considering these and many other Circumstances, might at length perhaps be brought to see if he could unmuffle himself from the Mask of Infallibility, and so think it reasonable to set his imprison'd Senses at Liberty, and that he hath a right to see with his own

own Eyes, hear with his own Ears, and judge by his own Reason. The consequence of which muſt probably be, that weighing things in a right Scale, and ſeeing them in their true Colours, he would diſtinguiſh between the merit of Suffering for a good Cauſe, and the fooliſh oſtentation of drawing inconveniencies upon himſelf; and therefore would not be unwilling to be convinc'd that our Proteſtant Creed may make him happy in the other World, and the eaſier in this. A few of ſuch wiſe Proſelytes, would by their Example draw ſo many after them, that the Party would inſenſibly melt away, and in a little time without any angry word, we ſhould come to a Union, that all Good Men would have reaſon to rejoyce at it. But we are not to preſume upon theſe Converſions, without preparing Men for them by kind and reconciling Arguments. Nothing is ſo againſt our Nature, as to believe thoſe can be in the right who are too hard upon us; there is a deformity in every thing that doth us hurt; it will look ſcurvily in our Eye while the ſmart continues, and a Man muſt have an extraordinary Meaſure of Grace, to think well of a Religion that reduceth him and his Family to Miſery. In this reſpect our *Trimmer* would conſent to the mitigation of ſuch Laws as were made, (as it's ſaid King *Henry* VIII. got Queen *Elizabeth*) in a heat againſt *Rome*. It may be ſaid, that even States as well as private Men are ſubject to Paſſion; a juſt indignation of a villanous Attempt produceth at the time ſuch Remedies, as perhaps are not without ſome mixture of Revenge, and therefore tho' time cannot Repeal a Law, it may by a Natural Effect ſoften the Execution of it. There is leſs danger to rouze a Lyon when at Reſt, than to wake Laws, that intended to have their time of Sleeping, nay more than that, in ſome caſes their Natural periods of Life, dying of themſelves without the Solemnity of being revok'd, any otherwiſe than by the common conſent of Mankind, who do ceaſe to Execute, when the Reaſons in great Meaſure fail that firſt Created and Satisfyed by the Rigour of unuſual Penalties.

Our *Trimmer* is not eager to pick out ſome places in Hiſtory againſt this or any other Party; quite contrary, is very ſolicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, and tend to an Agreement; but to preſcribe the Means of this Gentleneſs to as to make it effectual, muſt come from the only place that can furniſh Remedies for this Cure, *viz.* a Parliament. In the mean time, it is to be wiſhed there may be ſuch a mutual calmneſs of Mind, as that the Proteſtants might not be ſo jealous, as ſtill to ſmell the Match that was to blow up the King, and both Houſes in the Gunpowder Treaſon, or to ſtart at every appearance of Popery, as if it were juſt taking poſſeſſion. On the other ſide, let not the Papiſts ſuffer themſelves to be led by any hopes, tho' never ſo flattering, to a Confidence or Oſten-

tation which must provoke Men to be less kind to them; let them use Modesty on their sides, and the Protestants Indulgence on theirs; and by this means there will be an over-looking of all Venial Faults, a tacit connivance at all things that do not carry Scandal with it, and it would amount to a kind of Natural Dispensation with the severe Laws, since there would be no more Accusers to be found, were the occasions of Anger and Animosity once remov'd. Let the Papists in the mean time remember, that there is a respect due from all lesser Numbers to greater, a deference to be paid by an Opinion that is Exploded, to one that is Established; such things well digested will have an influence upon their Behaviour, and produce such a Temper as must win the most eager Adversaries out of their ill Humour to them, and give them a Title to all the Favour that may be consistent with the Publick Peace and Security.

The *Trimmer*'s Opinion in Relation to Things abroad.

THE World is so compos'd, that it is hard, if not impossible, for a Nation not to be a great deal involv'd in the Fate of their Neighbours; and tho' by the felicity of our Scituation, we are more Independent than any other People, yet we have in all Ages been concern'd for our own selves in the Revolutions abroad. There was a time when *England* was the over-Ballancing Power of Christendom, and that either by Inheritance or Conquest, the better part of *France* receiv'd Laws from us; after that we being reduc'd into our own Limits, *France* and *Spain* became the Rivals for the Universal Monarchy, and our third Power, tho' in itself less than either of the other, hapned to be Superiour to any of them, by that choice we had of throwing the Scales on that side to which we gave our Friendship. I do not know whether this Figure did not make us as great as our Formal Conquest, to be a perpetual Umpire between the two great contending Powers, who gave us all their Courtship, and offer'd all their Incense at our Altar, whilst the Fate of either Prince seemed to depend upon the Oracles we deliver'd. For the King of *England* to sit on his Throne, as in the Supream Court of Justice, to which the two last make their Appeal, and after the two great Monarchs had pleaded their Cause, and expected their Sentence; for the King of *England*, I say, then to declare which side was in the right, or at least if we pleas'd, which side should have the better of it, was a piece of Greatness which was peculiar to us, and no wonder

if

if we endeavour to preserve it, as we did for a considerable time, it being our Safety, as well as Glory, to maintain it. But by a Fatality upon our Councils, or by the refin'd Policy of this latter Age, we have thought fit to use Industry to destroy this mighty Power, which we have so long enjoyed; and that equality between the two Monarchs, which we might for ever have preserved, hath been chiefly broken by us, whose Interest it was above all others to maintain it; when one of them, like the overflowing of the Sea, had gained more upon the other than our convenience, or indeed our safety would allow, instead of mending the Banks, or making new ones, we our selves helpt to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther Inundation. *France* and *Spain* have had their several turns in making use of our Mistakes, and we have been formerly as deaf to the Instances of the then weaker part of the World, to help them against the House of *Austria*, as we can now be to the Earnestness of *Spain*, that we would assist them against the Power of *France*. *Gondamar* was as sawcy, and as powerful too in King *James*'s Court, as any *French* Ambassador can have been at any time since, when men talkt as wrong then on the *Spanish* side, and made their Court by it, as any can have done since, by talking as much for the *French*; so that from that time, instead of weighing in a wise Balance the Power of either Crown, it looketh as if we had meant only to weigh the Pensions, and take the heaviest.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong steps, so that I will go no farther than the King's Restauration, at which time the Ballance was on the side of *France*, and that by the means of *Cromwell*, who for a separate Interest of his own, had sacrificed that of the Nation, by joyning with the stronger side, to suppress the Power of *Spain*, which he ought to have supported. Such a Method was natural enough to an Usurper, and shew'd he was not the Father of the People, by his having so little care of them; and the Example coming from that hand, one would think should, for that Reason, be less likely to be followed. But to go on, here cometh the King, follow'd with Courtships of all Nations abroad, of which some did it not only to forget how familiarly they had us'd him when he was in other Circumstances, but to befreak the Friendship of a Prince, who, besides his other Greatness, was more considerable by being re-establisht by the Love of his People. *France* had an Interest either to dispose us to so much Good-will, or at least to put us in such a Condition, that we might give no Opposition to their Designs; and *Flanders*, being a perpetual Object in their Eye, a lasting Beauty for which they have an incurable Passion, and not being kind enough to consent to them, they meditated to commit a Rape upon her, which they thought would not be easie to do, whilst *England* and *Holland* were

agreed to rescue her, whenever they should hear her cry out for help to them; to this end they put in practice seasonable and artificial Whispers, to widen things between us and the States. *Amboyna*, and the Fishery must be talk'd of here; the freedom of the Seas, and the preservation of Trade, must be talk'd of and insinuated there; and there being combustible matter on both sides, in a little time it took fire, which gave those that kindled it, sufficient cause to smile and hug themselves, to see us both fall into the Net they had laid for us; and it is observable, and of good example to us, if we will take it, That their Design being to set us together at Cuffs to weaken us, they kept themselves indifferent till our Victories began to break the Ballance. Then the King of *France*, like a wise Prince, was resolved to support the beaten side, and would no more let the Power of the Sea, than we ought to suffer the Monarchy of *Europe*, to fall into one hand. In pursuance to this, he took part with the *Dutch*, and in a little time made himself Umpire of the Peace between us; some time after, upon pretence of his Queen's Title to part of *Flanders*, by Right of Devolution, he falleth into it with a mighty Force, for which the *Spaniards* were so little prepared, that he made a very swift Progress, and had such a Torrent of undisputed Victory, that *England* and *Holland*, tho' the Wounds they had given one another were yet green, being struck with the apprehension of so near a danger to them, thought it necessary for their own defence, to make up a sudden League, into which *Sweden* was taken to interpose for a Peace between the two Crowns.

This had so good an effect, that *France* was stopt in its Career, and the Peace of *Aix le Chapelle* was a little after concluded. 'Twas a forc'd putt; and tho' *France* wisely dissembled their own dissatisfaction, yet from the very moment they resolv'd to untie the Triple Knot, whatever it cost them; for his Christian Majesty, after his Conquering Meals, ever riseth with a Stomach, and he lik'd the Pattern so well, that it gave him a longing desire to have the whole Piece. Amongst the other means used for the attaining this end, the sending over the Dutchess of *Orleans*, was not the least powerful, she was a very welcome Guest here, and her own Charms and Dexterity joyned with other Advantages, that might help her perswasions, gave her such an Ascendant, that she could hardly fail of success. One of the Preliminaries of her Treaty, tho' a trivial thing in itself, yet was considerable in the consequence, as very small Circumstances often are in relation to the Government of the World. About this time a general humour, in opposition to *France*, had made us throw off their Fashion, and put on Vests, that we might look more like a distinct People, and not be under the servility of imitation, which ever payeth a greater deference to the Original, than is consistent with the

Equality

Equality all Independent Nations should pretend to. *France* did not like this small beginning of ill humours, and least of Emulation, wisely considering that it is a natural Introduction first to make the World their Apes, that they may be afterwards their Slaves. It was thought that one of the Instructions Madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of these Vices; which she performed so effectually, that in a moment, like so many Foolmen who had quitted their Masters Livery, we all took it again, and return'd to her Service; so that the very time of doing it gave a very critical Advantage to *France*, since it looks like an Evidence of our returning to their Interest, as well as to their Fashion, and would give such a distrust of us to our new Allies, that it might facilitate the dissolution of the Knot, which tyed them so within their bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the Restraint.

But as the Lady had a more extended Commission than this, the acquitted her self so effectually, that we double-laid the Foundation for a new strict Alliance, quite contrary to the other, in which we had been so lately engag'd. And of this there were such early appearances, that the World began to look upon us as falling into Apostacy from the common Interest. Notwithstanding all this, *France* did not neglect at the same time to give good words to the *Dutch*, and even to feed them with hopes of supporting them against us, when on a sudden, that never-to-be-forgotten Declaration of War against them cometh out, only to vindicate his own Glory, and to revenge the Injuries done to his Brother of *England*, by which he became our Second in this Duel. So humble can this Prince be, when at the same time he doth us more Honour than we deserve, he layeth a greater share of the blame upon our shoulders, than did naturally belong to us. The particulars of that War, our part in it while we held in, and when we were out of breath, our leaving the *French* to make an end to fight, are things too well known to make it necessary, and too unwelcome in themselves to incite me to repeat them. Only the Wisdom of *France* is in this to be observ'd, That when we had made a separate Peace, which left her single to oppose the united Force of the Confederates, the *French* were so far from being angry, that they would not shew so much as the least coldness, hoping to get as much by our Mediation for a Peace, as they would have expected from our Assistance in the War, our Circumstances at that time considered. This seasonable piece of Indulgence in not reproaching us, but rather allowing those Necessities of State which we gave for our Excuse, was such an engaging method, that it went a great way to keep us still in his Chains, when, to the Eye of the World, we had absolutely broke loose from him. And as to what past afterwards at *Nimeguen*, tho' the King's Neutrality gave him the outward Figure of a Mediator, it appear'd

pear'd that his Interposition was extreamly suspected of partiality by the Confederates, who upon that ground did both at and before the conclusion of the Treaty, treat his Ministers there with a great deal of neglect. In this Peace, as well as that of the *Pyrenees* and *Aix la Chappelle*, the King of *France*, at the moment of making it, had the thought of breaking it; for a very little time after he broach'd his Intentions of several new Claims; which were things that if they had been offer'd by a less formidable hand, would have been smiled at; but ill Arguments being seconded by good Armies, carry such a power with them, that naked sense is a very unequal Adversary. It was thought that these aiery Claims were chiefly rais'd with the prospect of getting *Lunenburgh* for the Equivalent; and this Opinion was confirm'd by the blocking it up afterwards, pretending to the Country adjoyning, that it might be entirely surrounded by the *French* Dominions. And it was so prest, that it might have fallen in a little time, if the King of *France* had not sent Orders to his Troops to retire; at what time his Christian Generosity, which was assign'd for the reason of it, made the World smile, since it hath been seen how differently his devout Zeal worketh in *Hungary*. That specious Reason was in many respects ill tim'd, and *France* it self gave it so faintly, that at the very time it look't out of Countenance. The true ground of his Retiring, is worth our observation; for at the Instance of the Confederates, all good Offices were done, and the Memorials given, but all ineffectual till the word *Parliament* was put into them. That powerful word had such an effect, that even at that distance it rais'd the Siege; which may convince us of what efficacy the King's words are, when he will give them their full weight, and threaten with his *Parliament*. It is then that he appears that great Figure we ought to represent him in our Minds, the Nation his Body, he the Head, and joyned with that Harmony, that every word he pronounceth is the word of a Kingdom. Such words, even by this Example, are as effectual, as Fleets and Armies, because they can create them, and without this his word sounds abroad like a faint Whisper, that is either not heard (or which is worse) not minded. But tho' *France* had made this step of forced Compliance, it did not leave off the pursuit of their pretensions; and therefore immediately proposed the Arbitration to the King. But it apear'd, that notwithstanding his Merit towards the Confederates, in saving *Lunenburgh*, the remembrances of what had passed before, left such an ill taste in their Mouths, they could not accept it, without being put into a condition to dispose of their Interests, and therefore declin'd it by insisting upon a general Treaty, to which *France* hath ever since continued to be averse. Our great earnestness also to perswade the Confederates to consent to it, was so unusual, and so suspicious a method, that it might naturally

turally make them believe, that *France* ſpake to them by our *Mouth*, and for that Reaſon, if there hath been no other, might hinder the accepting it; and ſo little care hath been taken to cure this, and other Jealouſies the Confederates may have entertain'd, that quite contrary, their *Miniſters* here every day take freſh Alarms, from what they obſerve in ſmall as well as greater Circumſtances; and they being apt both to take and improve apprehenſions of this kind, draw ſuch Inferences from them, as make them entirely deſpair of us.

Thus we now ſtand, far from being Innocent Spectators of our Neighbours Ruine, and by a fatal miſtake forgetting what a Certain Forerunner it is to our own. And now its time our *Trimmer* ſhould tell ſomething of his Opinion, upon this preſent State of things abroad; he firſt profeſſeth to have no Biaſs, either for or againſt *France*, and that his thoughts are wholly directed by the Intereſt of his own Country; he alloweth, and hath read that *Spain* uſeth the ſame Methods, when it was in its height, as *France* doth now', and therefore 'tis not Partiality that moveth him, but the juſt fear which all reaſonable Men muſt be poſſeſs'd with, of an over-growing Power. *Ambition* is a devouring Beaſt, when it hath ſwallowed one Prince, inſtead of being cloyed, it hath ſo much the greater *Stomach* to another, and being fed, becometh ſtill the more hungry; ſo that for the Confederates to expect a ſecurity from any thing but their own ſtrength, is a moſt miſerable fallacy; and if they cannot reſiſt the *Incroachments* of *France* by their Arms, it is in vain for them to dream of any other Means of Preſervation. It will have the better grace, beſides the ſaving ſo much Blood and Ruine, to give all up at once; make a Preſent of themſelves, to appeaſe this angry ſtomach, rather than be Whiſper'd, Flatter'd, or Couzened out of their Liberties. Nothing is ſo ſoft as the firſt applications of a greater Prince, to engage a weaker, but that pleaſing Countenance is but a Vizard, it is not the true Face, for as ſoon as their Turn is ſerv'd, the Courtſhip flyeth to ſome other Prince or State, where the ſame part is to be acted, leaveth the old miſtaken Friend to Neglect and Contempt, and like an inſolent Lover to a Caſt off Miſtreſs, Reproacheth even with that Infamy, of which he himſelf was the Author. *Sweden, Bavaria, Palatine, &c.* may by their Freſh Examples, teach other Princes what they are reaſonably to expect, and what Snakes are hid under the Flowers the Crown of *France* ſo liberally throws upon them, whilſt they can be uſeful. The various Methods and deep Riddles, with the differing Notes in ſeveral Countries, do not only give ſuſpicion, but aſſurance that every thing is put in Practice, by which the Univerſal Monarchy may be obtained. Who can reconcile the withdrawing of his Troops from *Luxemburgh*, in conſideration of the War in

Hun-

Hungary, which was not then declar'd, and presently after his encouraging the *Turk* to take *Vienna*, and consequently to destroy the Empire? Or who can think that the Prosecution of the poor Protestants of *France*, will be accepted of God, as an Attonement for hazarding the loss of the whole Christian Faith? Can he be thought in earnest, when he seem'd afraid of the *Spaniards*, and for that reason must have *Luxemburgh*, and that he cannot be safe from *Germany*, unless he is in possession of *Strasburgh*? All Injustice and Violence must in it self be grievous, but the aggravations of supporting them by false Arguments, and insulting Reasons, hath something in it yet more provoking, than the Injuries themselves; and the World hath ground enough to apprehend, from such a Method of Arguing, that even their Senses are to be subdu'd as well as their Liberties. Then the Variety of Arguments used by *France*, in several Countries is very observable: In *England* and *Denmark*, nothing insisted, but the Greatness and Authority of the Crown; on the other side, the great Men in *Poland* are commended, who differ in Opinion with the King, and they argue like Friends to the Priviledge of the Dyet, against the separate power of the Crown. In *Sweden* they are troubled that the King should have chang'd something there of late, by his single Authority, from the ancient and setled Authority and Constitutions. At *Ratisbon*, the most Christian Majesty taketh the Liberties of all the Electors, and their Estates, into his immediate protection, and telleth them the Emperor is a dangerous Man, an aspiring Hero, that would infallibly devour them, if he were not at hand to resist him on their behalf. But above all in *Holland*, he hath the most obliging tenderness for the *Common-wealth*, and is in such disquiets, lest it should be invaded by the Prince of *Orange*, that they can do no less in gratitude, than destroy themselves when he biddeth them, to shew how sensible they are of his excessive good nature. Yet in spight of all these Contradictions, there are in the World such refin'd *States-men*, as will upon their Credit affirm the following Paradoxes to be real truth; First that *France* alone is sincere, and keepeth its Faith, and consequently that it is the only Friend we can rely upon; the King of *France*, of all Men living, hath the least mind to be a Conquerour; that he is a sleepy, tame Creature, void of all Ambition, a poor kind of a Man, that hath no farther thoughts than quiet; that he is charm'd by his Friendship to us, that it is impossible he should ever do us hurt, and therefore tho' *Flanders* was lost, it would not in the least concern us; that he would fain help the Crown of *England* to be absolute, which would be to take pains to put it into a condition to oppose him, as it is, and must be our Interest, as long as he continueth in such an over-ballancing Power and Greatness.

Such a Creed as this once receiv'd, might prepare our belief for greater things,

things, and as he that taught Men to eat a Dagger, began first with a Penknife; so that if we can be prevail'd with to digest the smaller Mistakes, we may at last make our Stomachs strong enough for that of Transubstantiation. Our *Trimmer* cannot easily be converted out of his Senses by these State-Sophistries, and yet he hath no such pievish Obstinacy to reject all Correspondence with *France*, because we ought to be apprehensive of the too great Power of it; he would not have the King's Friendship to the Confederates extended to the involving him in any unreasonable or dangerous Engagements, neither would he have him lay aside the consideration of his better Establishment at home, and of his excessive Zeal to serve his Allies abroad; but sure there might be a Mean between these two opposite Extreams, and it may be wish'd that our Friendship with *France* may be so bounded, that it may consist with the humor as well as the interest of *England*. There is no Woman but hath the fears of contracting too near an intimacy with a much greater Beauty, because it exposeth her too often to a Comparison that is not advantagious to her; and sure it may become a Prince to be as jealous of his Dignity, as a Lady can be of her Good Looks, and to be as much out of Countenance, to be thought an humble Comparison to so much a greater Power; to be always seen in an ill light, to be so darkened by the brightness of a greater Star, is somewhat mortifying; and when *England* might ride Admiral at the head of the Confederates, to look like the Kitchin-Yatch to the Grand *Louis*, is but a scurvy Figure for us to make in the Map of *Christendom*. It would rise upon our *Trimmer*'s stomach, if ever (which God forbid) the power of calling and intermitting Parliaments here, should be transferred to the Crown of *France*, and that all the opportunities of our own Settlements at home, should give way to their Designs abroad; and that our Interest should be so far sacrific'd to our Compliance, that all the Omnipotence of *France* can never make us a full amends for it. In the mean time, he shrinketh at the dismal prospect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when *France* hath gather'd all the fruit arising from our Mistakes, and that we can bear no more with them, they will cut down the Tree and throw it into the fire. All this while, some superfine States-Men, to comfort us, would fain perswade the World that this or that accident may save us, and for all that is or ought to be dear to us, would have us to rely wholly upon Chance, not considering that Fortune is Wisdom's Creature, and that God Almighty loveth to be on the Wisest as well as the Strongest side; therefore this is such a miserable shift, such a shameful evasion, that they would be laught to death for it, if the ruining Consequence of this Mistake did not more dispose Men to rage, and a detestation of it.

Our *Trimmer* is far from Idolatry in other things, in one thing only he cometh near it, his Country is in some degree his Idol; he doth not worship the Sun, because 'tis not peculiar to us, it rambleth about the World, and is less kind to us than others; but for the Earth of *England*, tho' perhaps inferiour to that of many places abroad, to him there is Divinity in it, and he would rather die, than see a piece of *English* Grass trampled on by a foreign Trespasser; he thinks there are a great many of his mind, for all Plants are apt to taste of the Soyl in which they grow, and we that grow here, have a Root that produceth in us a Stalk of *English* Juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infusion; and I do not know whether any thing less will prevail, than the Modern Experiment, by which the Blood of one Creature is transmitted to another, according to which, before the *French* be let into our Bodies, every drop of our own must be drawn out of them.

Our *Trimmer* cannot but lament, that by a Sacrifice too great for one Nation to make another, we should be like a rich Mine, made useless only for want of being wrought, and that the Life and Vigour which should move us against our Enemies, is miserably apply'd to tear our own Bowels; that being made by our Situation, not only safer, but if we please greater too, than Countries which far exceed us in extent; that having Courage by Nature, Learning by Industry, Riches by Trade, we should corrupt all these Advantages so as to make them insignificant, and by a fatality which seemeth peculiar to us, misplace our active rage one against another, whilst we are turn'd into Statues on that side where lyeth our greatest danger; to be unconcern'd not only in our Neighbour's Ruin, but our own, and let our Island lie like a great Hulk in the Sea, without Rudder or Sail, all the Men cast away in her, or as if we were all Children in a great Cradle, and rockt asleep to a foreign Tune.

I say our *Trimmer* representeth to his Mind, our Roses blasted and discolour'd, whilst the Lillies triumph and grow insolent. Upon which Comparison, when he considereth our own flourishing Harvest now withered and dying, and nothing left us but a remembrance of a better part in History, than we shall make in the next Age; which will be no more to us than an Escutcheon hung upon our Door when we are dead; when he foreseeth from hence, growing Infamy from abroad, Confusion at home, and all this without the possibility of a Cure, in respect of the voluntary Fetters good Men put upon themselves by their Allegiance, without a good measure of preventing Grace, he would be tempted to go out of the World like a *Roman* Philosopher, rather than endure the burthen of Life under such a discouraging prospect: But Mistakes, as all other things, have their periods, and many times the neareſt way to Cure, is

not

not to oppose them, but stay till they are crusht with their own weight. For Nature will not let any thing continue long that is violent; Violence is a Wound, and as a Wound must be curable in a little time, or else 'tis Mortal; but a Nation cometh near to be Immortal, therefore the Wound will one time or another be cured, tho' perhaps by such wrong Methods, if too long forborn, as may even make the best Remedies we can prepare, to be at the same time a Melancholly Contemplation to us. There is but one thing (God Almighty's Providence excepted) to support a Man from sinking under these afflicting thoughts, and that is the hopes we draw singly from the King himself, without mixture of any other Consideration.

Though the Nation was lavish of their kindness to him at his first coming, yet there remaineth still a Stock of Warmth in Men's Hearts for him.

Besides the good Influences of his happy Planet are not yet all spent, and though the Stars of Men past their Youth are generally declining, and have less Force, like the Eyes of decaying Beauties, yet by a Blessing peculiar to himself, we may yet hope to be sav'd by his Autumnal Fortune. He hath something about him that will draw down a healing Miracle for his and our Deliverence; a Prince which seemeth fitting for such an offending Age, in which Mens Crimes have been so general, that the not forgiving his People, hath been the destroying of them; whose Gentleness gives him a Natural Dominion that hath no bounds, with such a noble mixture of Greatness and Condescention, an engaging Look, that disarmeth Men of their ill Humours, and their Resentments, something in him that wanteth a Name, and can be no more defin'd than it can be resisted; a Gift of Heaven, of its last finishing, where it will be peculiarly kind; the only Prince in the World that dares be familiar, or that hath right to triumph over those forms which were first invented to give awe to those who could not judge, and to hide Defects from those that could; a Prince that hath exhausted himself by his Liberality, and endanger'd himself by his Mercy; who out-shineth by his own Light and natural Virtues, all the varnish of studied Acquisitions: his Faults are like Shades to a good Picture, or like Allay to Gold, to make it the more useful, he may have some, but for any Man to see them through so many reconciling Virtues, is a Sacrilegious piece of ill nature, of which no generous Mind can be guilty; a Prince that deserveth to be lov'd for his own sake, even without the help of a Comparison; our Love, our Duty, and our Danger, all joyn to cement our Obedience to him; in short, whatever he can do, it is no more possible

for us to be angry with him, than with a Bank that secureth us from the raging Sea, the kind Shade that hideth us from the scorching Sun, the welcome Hand that reacheth us a Reprieve, or with the Guardian-Angel, that rescueth our Souls from the devouring Jaws of wretched Eternity.

CONCLUSION.

TO Conclude, our *Trimmer* is so fully satisfy'd with the Truth of these Principles, by which he is directed, in reference to the Publick, that he will neither be pall'd and threatned, laught, nor drunk out of them; and instead of being converted by the Arguments of his Adversaries to their Opinions, he is very much confirm'd in his own by them; he professeth solemnly, that were it in his power to chuse, he would rather have his Ambition bounded by the Commands of a Great and Wise Master, than let it range with a Popular License, tho' crown'd with Success; yet he cannot commit such a sin against the glorious thing call'd Liberty, nor let his Soul stoop so much below it-self, as to be content, without repining, to have his Reason wholly subdu'd, or the priviledge of acting like a sensible Creature, torn from him by the imperious Dictates of unlimited Authority, in what hand soever it happens to be plac'd. What is there in this that is so criminal, as to deserve that Penalty of that most singular Apothegm, *A Trimmer is worse than a Rebel?* What do angry men ail, to rail so against Moderation? doth it not look as if they were going to some very scurvy Extream, that is too strong to be digested by the more considering part of Mankind? These Arbitrary Methods, besides the injustice of them, are (God be thanked) very unskilful too, for they fright the Birds by talking so loud from coming into the Nets that are laid for them; and when Men agree to rifle a House, they seldom give warning, or blow a Trumpet; but there are some small States-men, who are so full charg'd with their own Expectations, that they cannot contain.

A kind Heaven sending such a seasonable Curse upon their undertakings, hath made their ignorance an Antidote against their Malice; some of these cannot treat peaceably, yielding will not satisfy them, they will have Men by storm; there are others, that must have Plots, to make their Service more necessary, and have an Interest to keep them alive, since they are to live upon them; these men will perswade the King to retrench his own Greatness, so as to shrink into the head of a Party, which is the betraying

betraying him into such an Unprincely mistake, and to such a wilful diminution of himself, that they are the last Enemies he ought to allow himself to forgive; such men if they could, would prevail with the Sun to shine only upon them and their Friends, and to leave all the rest of the World in the dark; this is a very unusual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which maketh it Treason to Imprison the King, when such unfitting bounds are put to his Favour, and confin'd to the narrow limits of a particular set of Men, that would include him. These Honest and only Loyal Gentlemen, if they may be allow'd to bear Witness for themselves, make a King their Engine, and degrade him into a property at the very time that their Flattery would make him believe they paid down Worship to him; besides these, there is a flying Squadron on both sides, that are afraid the World will agree, small Dablers in Conjuring, that raise Apparitions to keep men from being reconcil'd, like Wasps that fly up and down, buz and sting to keep men unquiet. But these Insects are commonly short-liv'd Creatures, and no doubt in a little time Mankind will be rid of them; they were Gyants at least who fought once against Heaven; but for such Pigmies as these to contend against it, is such a provoking Folly, that the insolent Bunglers ought to be laught and hist out of the World for it. They should consider there is a Soul in that great body of the People, which may for a time be drowzy and unactive, but when the Leviathan is rouz'd, it moveth like an angry Monster, and will neither be convinc'd nor resisted; the people can never agree to shew their united Powers, till they are extreamly tempted and provoked to it, so that to apply Cupping-glasses to a great Beast dispos'd to sleep, and to force that same thing whether it will or no to be Valiant, must be learnt out of some other Book than *Machiavil*, who would never have prescrib'd such a preposterous method. It is to be remembred, that if Princes have Law and Authority on their sides, the People on theirs may have Nature, which is a formidable Adversary; Duty, Justice, Religion, nay, even Humane Prudence too biddeth the People suffer any thing, rather than resist; but uncorrected Nature, where e're it feeleth the smart, will come to the neareſt Remedy. Mens Passions in this case are to be consider'd as much as their Duty, let it be never so strongly enforc'd; for if their Passions are provoked, they being so much a part of us as our Limbs, they lead men into a short way of Arguing, that admitteth no distinction, and from the foundation of Self-defence, they will draw Inferences, that will have inseperable effects upon the quiet of a Government.

Our *Trimmer* therefore dreadeth a general discontent, because he thinks it differs from a Rebellion, only as a Spotted Fever does from the Plague, the same Species under a lower degree of Malignity, it worketh several

ways,

ways, sometimes like a slow Poyson that hath its Effects a great distance from the time it is given, sometimes like dry Flax prepared to catch at the first Fire, or like Seed in the Ground ready to sprout upon the first shower; in every shape 'tis fatal, and our *Trimmer* thinketh no pains or precaution can be so great as to prevent it.

In short, he thinketh himself in the right, grounding his Opinion upon the Truth, which equally hateth to be under the Oppressions of wrangling Sophistry of the one hand, or the short Dictates of mistaken Authority on the other.

Our *Trimmer* adoreth the Goddess Truth, tho' in all Ages she hath been scurvily used, as well as those that worshipped her; 'tis of late become such a cozening Vertue, that Mankind seems to be agreed to shun and avoid it; yet the want of practice which repealeth the other Laws, hath no influence upon the Law of Truth, because it hath root in Heaven, and an intrinsick value in it self, that can never be impaired. She sheweth her greatness in this, that her Enemies when they are successful, are asham'd to own it; nothing but Power full of Truth hath the Prerogative of Triumphing, not only after Victories, but in spight of them, and to put Conquest her self out of countenance; she may be kept under, and suppresst, but her Dignity still remaineth with her, even when she is in Chains. Falshood with all her Impudence, hath not enough to speak ill of her before her face, such Majesty she carrieth about her, that her most prosperous Enemies are fain to whisper their Treason; all the Power upon Earth can never extinguish her, she hath lived in all Ages; and let the mistaken Zeal of prevailing Authority, Christen any opposition to it, with what Name they please, she makes it not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to persist. She hath lived very retired indeed, nay sometime so buried, that only some few of the discerning part of Mankind could have a glimpse of her; with all that she hath Eternity in her, she knows not how to dye, and from the darkest Clouds that shade and cover her, she breaketh from time to time with Triumph for her Friends, and Terrour for her Enemies.

Our *Trimmer* therefore inspired by this Divine Vertue, thinks fit to conclude with these Assertions, That our Climate is a *Trimmer*, between that part of the World where men are Roasted, and the other where they are Frozen; That our Church is a *Trimmer*, between a Phrenzy of *Platonick* Visions, and the Lethargick Ignorance of *Popish* Dreams; That our Laws are *Trimmers*, between the Excess of unbounded *Power*, and the Extravagance of *Liberty* not enough restrained; That true Vertue hath ever been thought a *Trimmer*, and to have its dwelling in the middle between the two Extreams;

Extreams; That even God Almighty is divided between his two great Attributes, his Mercy and his Justice.

In such Company, our *Trimmer* is not asham'd of his Name, and willingly leaveth to the bold Champions of either Extream, the Honour of contending with no less Adversaries, than Nature, Religion, Liberty, Prudence, Humanity, and Common Sense.

FINIS.